

The Acculturative Effects of Schooling on African Attitudes and Values

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The use of the term 'acculturation' has been the subject of considerable controversy among anthropologists and other social scientists for several decades. This is largely because the phenomena involved are highly variable and overlap with those covered by other terms in the field of culture change. The complex nature of acculturation study has been emphasized by many scholars working in the field, notably Thurnwald (1932), Herskovits (1937), Spindler and Spindler (1965), Dohrenwend and Smith (1962), Burger (1966), and Spicer (1958).

However, in spite of the long debate over the terminology, a certain broad consensus has been achieved. For the purpose of this study Keesing's (1964, 7) definition of acculturation as 'that process of culture change in which more or less continuous contact between two or more culturally distinct groups results in one group taking over elements of the culture of the other group or groups', is accepted.¹

The conditions necessary for such changes to occur have been summarized by Graves (1967, 337) as follows:

1. adequate exposure to beliefs and behaviours of the dominant group so that these traits can be potentially learned,
2. an identification with the dominant culture as a new reference group in order to provide the motivation for change, and

3. access to the valued resources or goals of the dominant society such that reasonable expectation can develop among the aspirants that a change in beliefs and behaviour will prove rewarding.

This article is concerned primarily with an examination of the first of these conditions and specifically with the exposure resulting from schooling. We are interested in observing to what extent the schools are instrumental in changing and moulding the ideas, attitudes and values of the pupils who come under their influence. Several studies have shown that acculturation is greatly facilitated by access to formal education (e.g., Broom and Kitsuse, 1955; Graves, 1967). In his study of the Aleut Indians of Alaska, Berreman (1964, 231) noted that:

Rejection of traditional culture occurs most where contacts have been extensive and intensive and where culture change has been 'directed'—where alien people have been dominant as administrators, school teachers, and other agents of authority, and where the traditional economy has been undermined or replaced.

He further says that acculturation takes place as a result of the interaction in social situations of individuals who carry the two cultures. These individuals have altered their

definitions of the situation in which they live and their self-definitions. These alterations lead to changes in attitudes, ideals, values and behaviours and Berreman recommends that an examination of such alterations is a fruitful way to look at acculturation.

METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954, 747; Bruner 1956, 605). A good example of the use of controlled comparisons is Bruner's study in which control stemmed from a comparison of group differences in acculturation within one village based on the criteria of participation in contemporary Indian life.

In the present study four different groups have been selected from three different geographical areas. The groups were selected on the basis of their differential exposure to European culture through schooling. The range was from no schooling to two years of secondary education. The groups selected were:

1. A group of men and women in a remote village on the Mazoe River on the north eastern border of Rhodesia.
2. A group of men and women in Nyahuku, a village 30 miles away from the Mazoe Village, which had a recently established primary school that went up to Standard III (Grade 5).
3. A group of boys and girls in Standard III at Nyahuku.
4. A group of Form I and II boys and girls at Mrewa Secondary School, the nearest high school.

In order to attempt the measurement of the change in attitudes effected by schooling, twelve questions were prepared, each in the form of a story with a multiple choice ending.² The questions were divided into six different categories with two questions in each category dealing with attitudes toward legal administration, medicine, ethics, marriage, agriculture and religious beliefs. The respondents were asked to choose the most appropriate ending for each story. In addition to the three suggested endings there was a fourth category for an open-ended reply. The three story endings were devised to elicit a traditional, neutral, or acculturated response. In cases where a respondent wrote in his own ending or made additional comments it was decided after consultation with African

informants in which category it belonged. Powdermaker (1956, 783) in her study of teenage Africans in Northern Rhodesia noted, 'In the transition from a traditional pre-industrial culture to a modern industrial one, all members of a society can be placed somewhere on a continuum with traditional and modern values at opposite ends.' This we have attempted to do with the four groups in this study.

The data for the main study were gathered during the months of May to August 1963, while the author was a graduate student in the Department of Education, University College of Rhodesia.³ The survey was first conducted in a remote Mazoe River village among a people who had had minimal access to formal schooling or contact with European culture. This village was located approximately 180 miles from Salisbury, the last 30 miles being a rough trail through the bush. The mode of life showed very few influences of western culture, people gained their living from fishing and growing millet and other grains. Very little cash was involved in the economy of the village.

It was necessary to establish a rapport with the people and to carry out the survey through 'conversations', a method employed by Biesheuvel (1955) in his studies of attitudes of Africans toward western ethical concepts. It was difficult to obtain the co-operation of the women who were extremely shy and reticent to answer. The group sampled was small and consisted of five males and five females. The population of the village was approximately eighty.

The next group interviewed was the people of the Nyahuku River Village in the Mkota Tribal Trust Land. This community is 150 miles from Salisbury, 70 miles from the nearest mission centre or government post, and 30 miles from the previous group interviewed, the Mazoe River people. In Nyahuku, at the time of this study, there was a school offering education up to Standard III (Grade 5), a clinic and a church. All of these had been established five years previously. These institutions were all staffed by educated Africans (carriers of both cultures) and supervised by European personnel from the mission seventy miles away who made monthly visits. A local African businessman ran a small store where a limited range of tinned goods, tea, sugar, minerals, pots, dishes and clothing could be bought. The store was also the terminus of a bus route. The people

in the village were largely subsistence farmers practising a shifting agriculture. The village also boasted of having five thriving *ngangas* (diviners), one of whom was a woman.

It was hoped to be able to measure to some extent the effect of education on the attitudes of the pupils in the school versus those of the village people and also to compare the attitudes of the two village communities. Therefore a similar sample was obtained from the Nyahuku Village consisting of ten people, and interviewing methods were the same. Here no difficulty was encountered in obtaining data from the women. The twenty-five pupils in Standard III (Grade 5) were given a mimeographed questionnaire containing the twelve stories in Shona. The class interviewing was conducted by an African teacher at the school.

The fourth group which completed this study were Form I and II pupils at Mrewa Secondary School. At the time of this study this secondary school had been in operation two years but was part of a well established mission centre that had its beginnings in 1923. About sixty per cent of the staff of the secondary school were European missionaries. The mission was located one mile from the township and government post of Mrewa in the Mangwende Tribal Trust Land and was fifty miles from Salisbury. The people in this area were largely subsistence farmers but some cash crops were grown. Transportation to markets in Salisbury was much more convenient and there was a fairly good road.

At Mrewa one hundred pupils were interviewed. Half the pupils answered the questionnaire in Shona to see if language would be a factor influencing their responses—the hypothesis being that those answering in the vernacular would be more likely to respond in a traditional way. The interviews were conducted in the classroom by the author.

RESULTS

In the questionnaire the order of the stories was mixed, the numbering used here being for convenience in reporting. Moser (1958) has pointed out that the order of questions may affect the answers obtained. In the analysis of each question which follows, the responses were tabulated on a three point scale and the following categories utilized: 1. traditional, 2. neutral, 3. acculturated. The results are presented in tabular form with percentages. Because

of the small sample in the two villages the percentages are useful as comparative indices only. Chi-square tests of significance were applied to the data on each group of questions and the results were found to be significant beyond the 0.001 level of significance. The responses were dichotomised and chi-square was again significant beyond the 0.001 level.

Table I

Response	CATEGORY I		LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE		STORY A
	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary	
1. Trad.	90,0	10,0	24,0	15,0	
2. Neut.	0,0	70,0	20,0	13,0	
3. Acc.	10,0	20,0	56,0	72,0	
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)	

A. Tembo found a place in the forest where a big kudu always came to drink. He wants to hunt it. What should Tembo do? 1. Ask the chief for permission to hunt. 2. Go and kill it when no one is looking. 3. Go to the District Commissioner and buy a licence to shoot it.

The two stories in Category I dealing with legal and administrative matters were prepared to measure the extent to which informants felt it better to appeal to or abide by the established European administration of the country as against the use of older, more traditional methods of control. Question A involves the legal permission to hunt.

There is a definite traditional response from the Mazoe Village people (ninety per cent). But there is quite a considerable difference between the traditional response of this group and the Nyahuku Village people. The largest percentage falls into the category designated 'neutral' and not the acculturated one. Most of the informants of Nyahuku Village said that no permission was needed and then proceeded to give advice as to what kind of trap to build to catch the animal. This may indicate an ignorance of the hunting laws of the European administration, but it may also indicate that in this area permission of the chief may not be necessary for hunting although they would probably be expected to give him a portion of meat (Holleman, 1952, p. 18). Therefore their neutral responses might be considered more traditional than acculturated. One woman commented: 'Kill it, then tell the chief.'

The pupils in Standard III who responded neutrally also felt that no permission was needed. However twenty-four per cent of them gave a definite traditional response and fifty-six per cent a definite acculturated one. The acculturated response indicated a shift in attitude away from traditional authority. There is a significant difference between the acculturation of the students in the school and the other members of the Nyahuku community (fifty-six versus twenty per cent).

Table II

CATEGORY I	LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE			STORY B
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	90,0	60,0	20,0	27,0
2. Neut.	0,0	10,0	20,0	15,0
3. Acc.	10,0	30,0	60,0	58,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

B. Marwei became very sick. She thought that Puna had poisoned her by putting medicine in her *sadza*. What should she do? 1. Ask her father to call the *nganga* to find the reason for her sickness. 2. Go to Puna and ask her, herself. 3. Go to the police with her story.

This question deals with the correct procedure in a suspected case of poisoning. The traditional response of the two village communities is not surprising since recourse to traditional diagnosis is very prevalent in cases of this kind where the person suspected of poisoning food would be thought to be a *muroyi* (evil witch). (Gelfand, 1956, p. 55). In the Nyahuku community one man said, '*Akafanira kunyarara hake*. (She must keep quiet)'. Then he went on to give the recipe for the antidote which must be administered by a man. These responses are also consistent with Gelfand's findings. He notes that it is rare for a person to accuse another of being a witch even when strongly suspected: 'He generally restrains his anger and resigns himself to finding a reliable *nganga* to exorcise the spell and so cure the illness' (Gelfand, 1968, p. 15).

Both groups of school pupils give highly acculturated responses. Especially is this so when upon reflection the designated neutral response is really more of an acculturated one because it involves direct confrontation which is different from the traditional pattern. There

were also more open responses on this question than on any of the others. This may indicate that this question is multi-dimensional, both legal and curative. The school respondents tended to ignore the legal aspects and were more concerned with the curative. Most of them recommended that she go to the hospital and be cured. In scoring the open responses a recourse to modern medicine was scored as acculturated. One secondary pupil said 'She'll die if she waits for these enquirements.' Another interesting comment was, 'Go to the doctor and don't eat *sadza* with Puna again.'

Table III

CATEGORY II	MEDICINE			STORY A
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	60,0	30,0	8,0	1,0
2. Neut.	10,0	0,0	4,0	0,0
3. Acc.	30,0	70,0	88,0	99,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

These story situations were included because it is obvious that the techniques of traditional Shona culture with regard to the practice of medicine conflict with the techniques of the modern culture. Gelfand (1956, pp. 11-12) describes the Shona traditional practitioner, the *nganga*, as a magician, although he may also have wide knowledge of herbs and other bona fide remedies. In this situation conflict could be expected to arise in the minds of those familiar with both cultures. In the Nyahuku community with a modern clinic there were also five practising *ngangas*, all of whom were doing a thriving business. The two questions in this category deal with the reaction to the need for medical attention.

A. *Treatment for blood in the urine*. Rudo notices while playing at the river that he and his playmates are passing blood in their urine. What should he do? 1. Ask his father to get some charms from the *nganga* to protect him. 2. Ask his father to go to the store and get medicine to keep his blood strong. 3. Go to the clinic and be treated. After that stay away from the river and do not drink water that has not been boiled.

It is interesting to note the greater acculturated response on this question among all four groups. Even the Mazoe Village people indicate some influence from the new culture.

Table IV

CATEGORY II	MEDICINE		STORY B	
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	80,0	60,0	0,0	2,0
2. Neut.	0,0	0,0	4,0	1,0
3. Acc.	20,0	40,0	96,0	97,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

B. *Treatment for diarrhoea.* Tendai's little sister is always crying. She is very thin and has diarrhoea often. What should Tendai's mother do? 1. Ask father to get some medicine from the *nganga* and tie it around the baby's waist. 2. Let the baby alone, maybe it will get well. 3. Only take the baby to the clinic, keep it clean and keep the flies away from its food.

From Tables III and IV one can conclude that even with a small amount of education there is a high degree of confidence in modern medical practice, whereas, in the villages faith is in the traditional medicines with a tendency to try both and be on the safe side, demonstrated by the fact that many patients attend the clinic at Nyahuku wearing numerous charms.

Table V

CATEGORY III	ETHICS		STORY A	
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	60,0	50,0	0,0	3,0
2. Neut.	10,0	10,0	24,0	7,0
3. Acc.	30,0	40,0	76,0	90,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

The two questions in this group involve the problem of adherence to the truth as against some type of loyalty putting special emphasis on kinship, though this is stronger in question A than B.

A. Mr. Ndebvu sells a donkey to Mr. Mbizi from another village, telling him that it is young and in good health. Muzukuru (his nephew) is watching and knows that it is really very sick. Before Mr. Mbizi reaches his village the donkey dies. He tells his story to the police and when the case comes to court, Muzukuru is called to testify. What should he do? 1. He should go to court and say the donkey was well.

2. Hide until the case is over, refusing to testify. 3. He should go to court and say the donkey was very sick, even if they send his uncle to jail.

It is obvious that loyalty to the kinship group is weaker among those who are in school. However, one Standard III boy at Nyahuku said, 'If it were me, I would kill myself so that I wouldn't be caught.' A secondary school pupil felt strongly enough to comment, 'I hope that person will not be a traitor though it may be correct to summon him.' This statement indicates a learning of the new ethic without necessarily an internalization of the norm.

Table VI

CATEGORY III	ETHICS		STORY B	
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	50,0	30,0	16,0	3,0
2. Neut.	20,0	30,0	24,0	5,0
3. Acc.	30,0	40,0	60,0	92,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

B. Khama is given five shillings by his mother to buy tea and sugar. The storekeeper was very busy and gave him change for ten shillings. What should he do? 1. Take the money home and give it to his mother. 2. Put the money in his pocket and leave quickly before the storekeeper notices his mistake. Hide it and spend it later. 3. Return the money to the storekeeper and tell him he has given him too much money.

It is perhaps significant that even in the Mazoe Village group there is only fifty per cent response in the category designated traditional. This may indicate that this question does not measure a traditional versus acculturated response but is basically a moral issue involving right versus wrong behaviour. This kind of behaviour is not exclusive to the new culture ethic but is inherent in the Shona ethic as well. Gelfand (1968, p. 36) corroborates this observation in his study of the morals and ethics of the Shona. He discusses the fact that 'good' behaviour and manners are taught in traditional society with a language that includes the idea of good, *kunaka*, and of a person being righteous or perfect, *kururama*.

Nevertheless, education does seem to affect the stated pronouncements on honesty as measured by this question. It may be that with the secondary school pupils there is a 'halo'

effect due to the fact that the author was a missionary at the time of this study. There were some interesting comments on this question. From the secondary school pupils came the following: 'he should return the money and ask the storekeeper for a reward for his honesty'; 'buy something in the store with the money', and 'put it in the church collection.'

From a Nyahuku standard three pupil came the following advice: 'Stay in the store until you see that he is not going to question you, then go with the money'. Another piece of homely advice: '*Chawawana batisa mudzimu haupi kairi*. (Hold tight or keep what you have found, for the spirits will not give you again).'

Table VII

CATEGORY IV	MARRIAGE		STORY A	
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	70,0	40,0	36,0	54,0
2. Neut.	20,0	10,0	8,0	17,0
3. Acc.	10,0	50,0	56,0	29,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

A. *Choosing a marriage partner.* Tsonzo fell in love with Nyasha who lived in the next village. He asked his father to pay *roora* (bride price) for her. But his relatives did not think she would make a good wife for him and they chose another girl. What should he do? 1. He should do as his relatives think best and marry the girl they chose. 2. He should refuse his relatives and say he will not marry yet. 3. He should go to live with the girl anyway so that the parents would be forced to agree.

This question deals with the problem of personal versus family choice of a marriage partner. As a result of contact with the new culture which emphasizes the individual rather than the community, conflict might be expected to arise because of the communal aspects in traditional Shona marriage customs. The marriage contract is really an agreement between two families and the individual aspect is a subordinate element in the dominant communal arrangements. Holleman (1952, pp. 127-9) discusses three factors in the marriage arrangements which show the dominance of the communal aspects of marriage.⁴ Shona custom has, however, recognized that a successful marriage is based on the consent of the couple

involved, especially the permission of the girl. Shona law pays less attention to the feelings of the groom. 'On no account, however, would the children's refusal to consent, by itself render a marriage agreement made by families invalid' (Holleman, 1952, p. 131).

Table VII reveals some interesting figures. An explanation is required for the high traditional response of the secondary pupils and the relatively high acculturated response of the Nyahuku community both the adults and school children. The secondary school pupils being nearer to a marriageable age may realize their dependence upon their families in this area. Several commented that if the boy does what he likes where would he get money for the *roora*. Another factor inhibiting an acculturated response among this group may be the morality of an elopement marriage due to the influence of Christian teaching on marriage. The secondary school pupils had alternative suggestions as to how the situation should be handled. Most of these recommended discussing the matter thoroughly with the parents and village elders in an effort to come to a solution that would please both sides. Some of the students expressed the opinion that in these days no one can be forced, which is probably true in most cases. Nevertheless, it is interesting that fifty-four per cent of these pupils felt that a person should accept the family's choice of a marriage partner.

The similarity in response of the adults and pupils in the Nyahuku community may indicate that elopement marriage is not inimical to local custom. Holleman (1952) p. 113 argues that elopement has always been part of Shona marriage customs and its increase today should not be attributed to changing social conditions.⁵ His argument is weakened somewhat when he goes on to admit that its practice is somewhat irregular within the traditional pattern. Elopement marriage does seem to be on the increase today and it seems only logical to look for the reasons in changing social conditions. Tensions between children and parents over choice of partner and the mercenary aspects of the 'bride-price' could certainly be contributing causes (Mair, 1969, pp. 153-4).

The parents of Nyahuku exhibited a very tolerant attitude toward the wishes of their ren. Two comments worth noting: '*Vabereki vakafanira kuda kwa mukomana wavo* (The parents must permit the will of their son)'; and

'*Rega mwana ayite kuda kwake, mupei mari achirowora* (Let the child do what he wants, give him the money for the marriage)'.
'

The most confident remark come from a Standard III boy at Nyahuku who said, '*Ko dai mukadzi ndiri kumuda hamuzivi kuti muti unomera pawo unoda* (If I want a woman, well don't you know that a tree takes root wherever it wants to)'. Another lad suggested he must 'take both girls'.

Table VIII

CATEGORY IV	MARRIAGE			STORY B
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	90,0	50,0	12,0	37,0
2. Neut.	10,0	10,0	36,0	26,0
3. Acc.	0,0	40,0	52,0	37,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

B. *Divorce*. Murume and Mukadzi since their marriage quarrel frequently. He beat her and she went to the hospital because her arm was broken. What should she do? 1. Complain to her husband's relatives about him. 2. Return to her village and ask her father to arrange a divorce. 3. Go to the District Commissioner's office and complain about her husband's cruelty.

The pattern of response is similar in this question to the previous one. There is a relatively high degree of acculturation in the Nyahuku community and school, a greater divergence between the two villages and a more traditional response from the secondary pupils.

In examining the question itself, it is more likely that response 2, intended to be neutral, is really more traditional. According to Holleman (1952, p. 219) it would be the wife's second course of action if the first one failed. A Shona husband has the right to beat his wife lightly but if he beats her unreasonably he is guilty of *rushusha* (maltreating) and she can run away to her own family and seek a divorce. If the responses are dichotomised in this way the traditional response for the secondary school pupils is sixty-three per cent. In these two questions on marriage the secondary school pupils deviate from the expected acculturation pattern.

Table IX

CATEGORY V	AGRICULTURE		STORY A	
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	60,0	10,0	0,0	6,0
2. Neut.	30,0	60,0	60,0	0,0
3. Acc.	10,0	30,0	40,0	94,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

A. Last year Mr. Gurure's mealies grew badly and the family did not have enough to eat. What should he do this planting season? 1. Cook beer and give a special offering to the *Vadzimu* (family spirits). 2. Get a new field and try again. 3. Put manure and compost on the fields.

This first question deals with causal explanations for crop failure with an appeal to the ancestor spirits for good crops representing the traditional response as against using modern methods of farming. A significant fact here is the large neutral response for the Nyahuku Village and school and also for the Mazoe Village compared with previous responses. The reason probably lies in the fact that a shifting agriculture is practised here and people do change their fields frequently. The trees and brush are burnt for fertilizer. However, an informant from Nyahuku made this observation after checking the neutral response: 'If it continues every year, he must make a sacrifice to the family spirits'.

The degree of acculturation of the secondary pupils on this question is very high, ninety-four per cent.

Table X

CATEGORY V	AGRICULTURE		STORY B	
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	80,0	30,0	4,0	2,0
2. Neut.	20,0	20,0	28,0	23,0
3. Acc.	0,0	50,0	68,0	75,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

B. Mrs. Bambo is ill and cannot work in the fields. What should her husband do? 1. Take another wife. 2. Hire someone to work in the fields. 3. Go himself and work with the children in his wife's fields.

In some ways this question is also multi-dimensional having to do with marriage customs as well as with the division of labour as it affects agriculture. The Mazoe Village people are seen to be very traditional with eighty per cent suggesting he take another wife. According to Holleman (1952, p. 190) if a Shona wife is unable to perform her duties the husband could take another wife or ask for a replacement for her from her family. One man at Nyahuku who chose the traditional response added, '*Petudza uyo unorwara nguva dzese* (Return the one who is sick all the time)'. This traditional response drops sharply with education. Only four per cent of the pupils at Nyahuku School and two per cent of the secondary pupils recommend that he take another wife.

The second response ('Hire someone to work in the fields') is probably more of an acculturated than a neutral response. Therefore if the responses are dichotomised this question has a very high acculturated response from pupils in both schools.

The third response, however, probably does not discriminate the direction of change as clearly as it might have if the question had been rephrased and the husband had been required to do some of the forbidden tasks such as preparing the family's food or caring for the children. In Shona society in the area of food production the responsibilities of each sex are not as clearly divided. Although a woman would be primarily responsible for her fields, she could call upon her husband to help at times (Holleman, 1952, p. 211; Murphree, 1969, p. 21).

Table XI

CATEGORY VI	RELIGIOUS BELIEFS			STORY A
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	100,0	60,0	8,0	8,0
2. Neut.	0,0	0,0	36,0	51,0
3. Acc.	0,0	40,0	56,0	41,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

A. Mr. Muvimi went out to hunt and was unsuccessful because: 1. He had failed to make a *bikiro* (offering to the spirits). 2. He had bad luck. 3. The streams had dried up and the game had moved to other water holes.

The responses supplied for this question were designed to provide for: 1. an answer representing a traditional, supernatural explanation for failure in hunting, 2. 'bad luck' representing an intermediate position on the traditional-modern continuum, 3. representing an effort to find natural, scientific explanations for phenomena.

Both village groups proved to respond in a traditional manner while the school children by and large fell in the neutral to acculturated categories.

Table XII

CATEGORY VI	RELIGIOUS BELIEFS			STORY B
Response	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
1. Trad.	90,0	60,0	24,0	21,0
2. Neut.	10,0	40,0	72,0	18,0
3. Acc.	0,0	0,0	4,0	61,0
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

B. For two years there have not been good rains in Chief Makuni's area. The people are beginning to starve. Why? 1. The *mhondoro* (tribal spirits) refuse to send the rains because the people have not made the proper sacrifices. 2. God has not sent the rains. 3. The winds have not blown the rains on that area.

The first response represents the traditional religious ideology while the second one would have been taught by the Christian churches and therefore might be considered to be a modified acculturated response even though it would attribute causation to a supernatural being. The word used to translate God into Shona is '*Mwari*'. This is the term used by the Christian churches. The traditionalists would be more likely to use the term '*Nyadenga*' (Murphree, 1969, p. 179). The third response represents a scientific theory of causation such as is taught in the schools.

In this area of religious beliefs the spiral is definitely an upward one with the secondary school pupils exhibiting the most acculturated attitude. However, it is worth noting that both groups of school children were also more traditional in this area than in some others. The Nyahuku Standard III pupils indicated some confusion in their religious thinking in the comments they made on this question. One boy marked the second response, 'God has not sent the rains', but went on to comment,

'Mondoro ndiyo muridzi we mvura (The tribal spirit is the owner of the rains)'. Another informant said that the *Mhondoro* and God are the same. Another that God had not sent the rains because he was angry with the people who had sinned. A secondary school pupil commented that, 'We are taught in our Geography that the wind brings the rain. Even the winds are God's'. Another student said '*Wakanganwa mhondoro* (They have forgotten the tribal spirit)'.

An explanation for this seeming confusion and ambiguity of the replies of the school children may be found in a comparison of traditional Shona religious concepts and Christianity. Murphree (1969, p. 59) points out that there is much in common between the two religious ideologies. It is possible then that what is evidenced here is a type of acculturation identified as *syncretism*, which is the tendency to identify those elements in the new culture with similar elements in the old one (Herskovits quoted by Burger, 1966, 103). This enables the person experiencing the contact to move from one to the other and back again with psychological ease.

SUMMARY

The findings of this study tend to support the hypothesis that formal education is an important factor in acculturation. Attention is drawn to Table XIII which is a composite table of responses on all twelve stories. The differences in the acculturated responses of groups having differential schooling is significant beyond the 0.001 level.

Table XIII

CATEGORIES I-VI	TOTAL RESPONSES		TWELVE STORIES	
	Mazoe Village	Nyahuku Village	Nyahuku Standard III	Mrewa Secondary
Response				
1. Trad.	76,7	40,8	12,7	14,9
2. Neut.	10,8	21,7	28,0	14,7
3. Acc.	12,5	37,5	59,3	70,4
TOTAL	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=10)	100,0 (n=25)	100,0 (n=100)

The Mazoe Village people with no schooling and very little contact with the new culture were consistently traditional in their responses on each question. When the responses were totalled (see Table XIII) acculturated responses for this group constituted only 12,5 per

cent of the total. The highest acculturated responses were in the areas of medicine (twenty-five per cent) and ethics (thirty per cent).⁶

The Nyahuku Village people with greater new culture contact through the school, clinic, church and store exhibited a higher degree of acculturation particularly in the areas of medicine (fifty-five per cent), ethics (forty per cent), marriage (forty-five per cent), and agriculture (forty per cent).⁷ Their acculturated responses on all questions totalled 37,5 per cent. A significant difference occurred between the Nyahuku Village people and the pupils in Standard III.

The Standard III pupils at Nyahuku had a total of 59,3 per cent acculturated responses and the Mrewa Secondary pupils had a total acculturated response of 70,4 per cent. Both groups of pupils had the highest acculturated responses in the areas of medicine, ethics and agriculture. Their highest traditional responses were in the areas of legal and administrative matters, marriage, and religious beliefs. In one area, that of marriage, the Standard III pupils had a higher acculturated response than the secondary pupils. This would appear therefore to be one area in which an acculturative trend does not correlate with an increased exposure to schooling. Our analysis has shown, however, that a number of other cultural variables impinge on this particular area, and that the contradiction may be more apparent than real.

Half of the secondary school pupils answered the questionnaire in the vernacular to see if language affected the type of response. In the areas where the pupils gave the highest traditional responses (legal matters, marriage and religious beliefs) there was a slightly higher traditional response rate for those answering in the vernacular. However, chi-square tests of significance applied to this data indicated that the differences were not significant.

The story technique used in this study to identify the acculturative effects of education presents certain difficulties. For one thing, it is not known to what extent the responses given represent the ways in which the respondent would actually behave in such situations. This paper, however, does not purport to study the entire attitude syndrome, which may include action. We have rather been studying the learning of beliefs and behaviour patterns which may or may not result in cognate action. The assumption that the responses given to questions

such as those posed in this study bear a significant relationship to the internalization of an attitude or value and therefore to the behaviour of the respondent (cf. Spindler and Spindler, 1965, 9) may be valid, but the nature of that relationship is not the focus of this paper.

Another difficulty in this technique lies in identifying a situation and devising graded responses to it which accurately reflect stages in the acculturative process. Our analysis of the situations actually posed in the questionnaire instrument reveals that some were more and some less effective in achieving this goal. Some of the questions did not discriminate the direction of change as well as others, particularly the following: category III (ethics) question B, category IV (marriage) question A, and category V (agriculture) question B. Some of the response categories would also appear to have been inadequately constructed, and in particular many of the neutral responses could have been placed on the continuum as modified traditional or acculturated responses.

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties and shortcomings, the upward spiral of acculturation which is evident in Table XIII when the responses from all the questions are combined does show a consistent positive correlation between the degree of exposure to formal educational processes and the degree of acculturation of the group tested. This is a significant indication that to a large degree the schools of this country are instrumental in changing and moulding the ideas, attitudes and values of the pupils who come under their influence.

These findings are consistent with findings of studies elsewhere (Hamm and Macaraya, 1956; Berreman, 1964; Broom and Kitsuse, 1955; Leis, 1964). The importance of this for a plural society such as Rhodesia is that the schools do act as agents and accelerators of change. They are instrumental in inculcating the value system of a new culture and if the school system has the support of other institutions of society it can be a bridge linking members of one sub-culture of the society to the other.

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NOTES

1. In 1936 the United States Social Science Research Council appointed a sub-committee consisting of R. Redfield, R. Linton and M. J. Herskovits to define the term acculturation. The definition is basically a restating of the one contained in their report (see References).
2. This technique is similar to one used by David L. Hamm and Batua A. Macaraya in a study of acculturation in a Junior College in the Philippines (See references).
3. During this period there was considerable political upheaval and a wave of nationalist activity swept the country. Undercurrents of anti-European sentiment were in evidence, with efforts at reviving African traditional forms of worship and punitive action being taken against women and girls who had affected European ways by straightening their hair and wearing short, tight skirts. People were sometimes forced to remove their shoes and walk barefoot. To see whether the responses had been affected by the political tenor of the times a partial replication of the study was carried out in June, 1971. Form I and II pupils at the Mrewa Secondary School were given the same questionnaire. In the totalled responses the differences between the 1963 and 1971 survey were not significant (70.4 versus 73.5 per cent acculturated responses). The only significant difference was in category IV, marriage, where the 1971 group showed a twelve per cent increase in the acculturated response.
4. In the initial bargaining stages the identity of the future husband and wife need not be openly revealed. The principal question is whether a marriage relationship between two families is acceptable. The second factor is that the bride is first handed over to the family which procured her and then a few days later she is handed over to her husband by the head of the family. The third is that in cases of early death or failure to keep the contract either or both spouses can be replaced by a member of the same kin group.
5. Holleman speculated that under the influences of missionary teachings the percentage of elopement marriages has decreased in favour of regular proposal marriages. He bases this on a study of 700 marriages in different parts of the Sabi Reserve. Near a large mission station regular proposal marriages increased by twenty-five per cent.
6. These figures represent the combined responses of questions A and B in this category.
7. These figures represent the combined responses of questions A and B in this category.

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